

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

NSC-05 BIB-01 /088 W

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P R 151200Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0898

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0142

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0112

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD MARCH
10-16, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED TO
MARK TIME THIS WEEK. THE WEST FORMALLY REJECTED
THE FEB 25 MODIFIED EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL
IN THE WEEKLY PLENARY MEETING AND PRESENTED THE CASE FOR
COMPENSATION FOR GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES AND OTHER

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ADVANTAGES FAVORING THE EAST. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV

CRITICIZED THE ALLIES FOR FAILING TO ACKNOWLEDGE ALLEGEDLY SUBSTANTIVE EASTERN MOVES TOWARD THE WESTERN POSITION ON PHASING. EASTERN REPS ALSO REITERATED THEIR REFUSAL TO DISCUSS DATA UNTIL ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE WERE SETTLED AND STRONGLY EMPHASIZED THEIR DEMAND THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS UNDERTAKE PRECISE OBLIGATIONS FROM THE OUTSET REGARDING THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THIS WEEK'S INFORMAL AND PLENARY MEETINGS COVERED MUCH THE SAME GROUND, MANIFESTING A DEVELOPING PATTERN WHICH HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY MARKED DURING THIS ROUND. INFORMAL MEETINGS HAVE BECOME MORE STRUCTURED, WITH BOTH SIDES MAKING PREPARED STATEMENTS TO EACH OTHER, ONLY TO REPEAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THOSE STATEMENTS A COUPLE OF DAYS LATER IN THE WEEK'S PLENARY MEETING. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE OF THE GIVE AND TAKE AND PROBING THAT INFORMAL MEETINGS ARE DESIGNED TO ACCOMMODATE. THIS PHENOMENON IS DOUBTLESS A TEMPORARY ONE, REFLECTING THE ABSENCE OF SUBSTANTIVE NEW PROPOSALS BY EITHER SIDE SO FAR IN THIS ROUND.

3. AT THE MARCH 13 PLENARY MEETING, LUXEMBOURG REP (WINTER) BRIEFLY REJECTED THE FEB 25 MODIFIED EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL. THE LUXEMBOURG REP THEN WENT ON TO MAKE THE CASE THAT, APPLYING THE TEST OF MEASURING THE OBJECTIVE EFFECTS OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION APPROACH ON WESTERN SECURITY, THE EASTERN APPROACH WOULD DIMINISH WESTERN SECURITY AND ENHANCE EASTERN ADVANTAGES. WINTER ALSO ARGUED THAT, IN ADDITION, ANY REDUCTION AGREEMENT WILL HAVE THE NET EFFECT OF CREATING NEW ADVANTAGES FOR THE EAST IN THAT THE TOTAL SIZE OF WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WILL HAVE BEEN REDUCED AND LIMITED, WHILE THE FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION, LOCATED ON TERRITORY ADJACENT TO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, WOULD BE NEITHER REDUCED NOR LIMITED IN THEIR TOTAL SIZE. LUXEMBOURG REP CONCLUDED THAT FULL ACCOUNT SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THESE EASTERN ADVANTAGES, AS WELL AS OF THE EXISTING EASTERN ADVANTAGES IN GROUND FORCES, THROUGH EASTERN AGREEMENT TO MAKE CONSIDERABLY SECRET

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LARGER EASTERN REDUCTIONS, AS WELL AS THROUGH WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR STOCKPILING AND THINNING OUT. ALLIED REPS ELABORATED ON THESE SAME POINTS DURING THE MARCH 11 INFORMAL MEETING.

4. FOLLOWING THE LUXEMBOURG PLENARY STATEMENT, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV PRESENTED AN EXTEMPORANEOUS REBUTTAL OF WINTER'S ARGUMENT THAT THE EASTERN MODIFIED INITIAL

REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL REPRESENTED ONLY A PROCEDURAL RATHER THAN A SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IN THE NOV 8 EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT. KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE EASTERN MODIFICATIONS CONCERNING PHASED IMPLEMENTATION OF REDUCTIONS BY THE US AND SOVIETS AND ALL OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AS DESCRIBED IN THE MARCH 6 POLISH PLENARY STATEMENT, DID IN FACT ENTAIL SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN THE EASTERN POSITION. KHLESTOV SAID THESE EASTERN PROPOSALS WERE MADE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF IMPORTANT, SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE ALLIED POSITION. HE CRITICIZED THE WEST FOR TERMING THESE POINTS ON PHASING SUBSTANTIVE ONLY UNTIL THE EAST MOVED TO MEET THEM, AT WHICH POINT, THE WEST THEN CHARACTERIZED THESE EASTERN MODIFICATIONS AS MERELY PROCEDURAL.

5. BESIDES THE POINTS MADE BY WINTER AND KHLESTOV IN THE PLENARY MEETING, BOTH SIDES ADHERED TO THEIR STANDARD POSITIONS IN THE WEEKLY INFORMAL MEETING.

GDR REP OESER AGAIN ACCUSED THE WEST OF DEPARTING FROM PRINCIPLES AGREED DURING THE PRELIMINARY TALKS. OESER CLAIMED THAT IN REFUSING TO REDUCE AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR ELEMENTS, THE WEST WAS DEPARTING FROM THE AGREED SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH INCLUDED REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS. NETHERLANDS REP DE VOS SAID THE EAST WAS STILL ADHERING TO THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF ITS ORIGINAL POSITION OF NOVEMBER 1973 THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0899

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

SYMMETRICAL AND THAT EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT SHOULD ASSUME FROM THE OUTSET SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS ON THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF ITS REDUCTIONS. TO SPLIT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST TWO STAGES OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL INTO TWO SUB-STAGES WITHOUT CHANGING THE CONTENT OF THESE STAGES WAS PURELY PROCEDURAL, WHILE EASTERN PROPOSALS FOR THE ALLOCATION OF REDUCTIONS OF EACH INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANT IN THE FIRST STAGE MERELY AMOUNTED TO SPECIFICATION OF AN OPEN DETAIL IN THE ORIGINAL EASTERN PROPOSAL, SINCE THE PROPOSED REDUCTIONS
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FOR EACH SIDE REMAINED AS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED.

6. NETHERLANDS REP POINTED OUT THAT, IF LIMITATIONS ON FORCE LEVELS WERE ALSO TO INCLUDE AIR FORCE MANPOWER AS THE WEST HAD NOW PROPOSED IN A MAJOR DEPARTURE FROM ITS ORIGINAL POSITION, THE EASTERN ADVANTAGES FROM ANY REDUCTION AGREEMENT WOULD BECOME EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT. ALL MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS EXCEPT THE NAVY WOULD BE LIMITED. BUT NEITHER SOVIET GROUND FORCES NOR SOVIET AIR FORCE MANPOWER, LOCATED ON TERRITORY ADJACENT TO THE AREA, WOULD BE LIMITED. THIS SITUATION REINFORCED THE NEED TO ELIMINATE THE EXISTING DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCES.

7. SOVIET REP SMIRNOVSKY STRONGLY ATTACKED THE REFUSAL OF THE WEST EUROPEANS AND CANADA TO UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS FROM THE OUTSET ON THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS. REITERATING A POINT RAISED IN RECENT BILATERALS BY SOVIET REPS, CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER SAID THAT EASTERN GOVERNMENTS WERE BEGINNING TO SUSPECT THE WEST OF DELIBERATELY USING THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS AS A COVER FOR FORCE BUILD-UPS. US REP

CRITICIZED THE MECHANISTIC AND INEQUITABLE EASTERN INTER-
PRETATION OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS' AGREEMENT THAT FORCE
REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE MUTUAL. HE AGAIN REQUESTED THE
EAST AT LEAST TO SPECIFY THE NUMERICAL AMOUNTS OF REDUCTIONS
WHICH THE EAST ITSELF WAS PROPOSING.

8. IN BILATERALS THIS WEEK WITH US DELOFFS, EASTERN
DELEGATION MEMBERS HEWED CLOSELY TO THE EAST'S
CURRENT LINE ON MOST ISSUES. SOVIET, POLISH AND GDR DELOFFS
PLACED STRONG AND REPEATED EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR ALL
WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO ASSUME FROM THE OUTSET
PRECISE OBLIGATIONS REGARDING THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF
REDUCTIONS. NOTING THE MARCH 6 PLENARY STATEMENT OF POLISH
REP STRULAK, THESE EASTERN DELEGATES STRESSED THAT EASTERN
FLEXIBILITY WOULD BE POSSIBLE ON ISSUES OF INTEREST TO
THE WEST AFTER REPEAT AFTER THE WEST EUROPEANS ASSUMED REDUCTION
OBLIGATIONS. STRULAK DESCRIBED THIS PLOY TO US DEPREP
AS "A BARGAINING SIGNAL" AND A POLISH DELOFF TERMED IT
"AN OPENING BID" TO US DELOFF. A SOVIET DELOFF
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AND GDR DEPREP TOLD US DELOFF THAT ALLIED DEMANDS FOR
ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS AND DATA COULD BE DISCUSSED AFTER
"WE HAVE PRECISE COMMITMENTS REGARDING THE BUNDESWEHR."
WHILE STRESSING THEIR DEMANDS FOR WEST EUROPEAN
REDUCTIONS AND NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS, IT HAS BEEN
NOTICEABLE THAT EASTERN REPS HAVE BEEN AVOIDING EARLIER
INSISTENCE ON REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PERHAPS SO
AS NOT TO PLACE THEMSELVES IN THE ROLE OF DEMANDEUR ON
THIS TOPIC. THEY HAVE NOTED THEIR POSITION FOR THE
RECORD BUT NOT PRESSED THE SUBJECT. (SEE SEPARATE REPORTS
REGARDING DETAILS OF THESE CONVERSATIONS.)

9. AT ITS MARCH 13 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP ACCEPTED
THE RENEWED EASTERN REQUEST THAT THE SPRING RECESS IN
THE VIENNA TALKS BEGIN OFFICIALLY APRIL 21 AND END
OFFICIALLY MAY 12. THE LAST PLENARY MEETING OF THE
CURRENT FIFTH ROUND WILL TAKE PLACE ON APRIL 17 AND
THE FIRST PLENARY OF THE SIXTH ROUND IS EXPECTED TO OCCUR
ON THURSDAY, MAY 15. THE PRESS WILL BE INFORMED IN DUE
COURSE OF THE APRIL 21 TO MAY 12 OFFICIAL DATES FOR THE
SPRING RECESS.RESOR

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